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# PROCEEDING

## Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values

**Editor:**  
**L. Dyah Purwita Wardani SWW**



Membangun Generasi  
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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GENDER  
AND FEMINISM (ICOGEF)

“Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values”



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## PROCEEDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GENDER AND FEMINISM “Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values”

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## PREFACE

Higher education has the responsibility to (1) make the life of the nation intelligent through developing abilities, forming national character and civilization with Pancasila character, (2) implementing the Tridharma to create an academic community profile that is innovative, responsive, creative, skilled, competitive and cooperative, and (3) developing science and technology with an insight into humanistic values. In this context and as a form of Universitas Jember's commitment to help build a dignified human civilization, the Center for Gender Studies at Universitas Jember has held an International Conference with the theme Feminism Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values on 21-22 October 2023 in Jember.

This chosen theme brings higher education attention to the importance of developing and strengthening feminist practices in facing the increasingly massive development of social, economic and political globalization. It involves actions, strategies and initiatives to raise awareness, overcome discrimination and work towards a more just society. Higher education has great potential to change this condition through organizing forums that facilitate scientific development with a gender-equitable perspective, placing women and men equally as essential subjects. Ideally, women's voices, which tend to be marginalized because they are considered unscientific, must be ensured to receive a particular place and attention because women's specific experiences regarding their bodies, the oppression experienced in their daily lives are valid, worthy of being used as a source of knowledge. This situation will encourage the development of scientific knowledge that is no longer masculine, which is colored by empathy and an ethic of care. Ultimately, this knowledge should also be considered as a reference for preserving and engineering culture, creating technology, and formulating gender-responsive policies.

This international conference activity was attended by various participants from within the country and abroad who work as lecturers, researchers, practitioners, observers, and students in various fields of science related to and relevant to the conference theme. This proceeding contributes to disseminating research results from the academic community who have participated and presented their articles at the conference. It is hoped that the various scientific papers produced and discussed during this conference will inspire the academic community to be more productive and create opportunities for improving the quality of Tridharma's work in the field of gender studies in the future.

As a closing introduction to these proceedings, we would like to express our deep gratitude to all the committee, presenters, participants and sponsors who have made extraordinary contributions to the success of this international conference. May Allah SWT, God Almighty, always bless all our reasonable efforts.

Jember, 20 November 2023  
Rector of Universitas Jember  
Dr. Ir. Iwan Taruna, M.Eng.IPM

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# Increased Participation of Indonesian Female Peacekeepers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL)

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**Abstract:** This article analyzes the reasons behind the increasing number of Indonesian female peacekeepers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL). In the analysis, the researcher uses a liberal feminist perspective and the political system theory of David Easton. This paper uses qualitative research methods, with primary data obtained through the interview method and secondary data from the literature study method. The findings of this study are that input factors and the Indonesian political system influence the Indonesian decision to increase the number of female peacekeepers in UNIFIL. Input factors consist of demands and support. The need for input from the United Nations is through international policies and agreements. The Indonesian Government and social organizations in Indonesia provided support for these demands. The political systems that influence are the Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, as the authorities process inputs into outputs in the form of policies. This research concludes that increasing the participation of Indonesian female peacekeepers in UNIFIL is a form of the concrete implementation of Indonesia's commitment to realizing gender in the world peacekeeping agenda.

## INTRODUCTION

The United Nations (UN) Peace Mission is the most effective tool to assist and facilitate peacebuilding for countries currently in conflict. Countries worldwide support this agenda by sending peacekeepers to serve in various UN Peace Missions. Peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission are not limited only to male personnel but also to female personnel. It was carried out as part of the United Nations' efforts to support the realization of gender equality in the world peacekeeping agenda. Indonesia and Finland are examples of countries that actively send their



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women peacekeepers to UN Peace Missions, especially to the Peace Mission in Lebanon or the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

Indonesia has sent its peacekeepers since 1957 and has continued to this day. Data as of December 2020 shows that Indonesia occupies the eighth position as the largest sending country of peacekeepers, with 2,827 personnel consisting of 2,663 male peacekeepers and 164 female peacekeepers in eight UN Peace Missions. [1] Most of the peacekeepers from Indonesia served on the UNIFIL Peace Mission with 1,253 personnel consisting of 1,188 men and 65 women. [2]. This number made Indonesia the largest troop contributor country to the UNIFIL mission.

Finland is a pioneer country in promoting and realizing gender equality. Efforts to mainstream gender equality in Finland are regulated in the country's constitution, the Equality Act, and various government programs. The Finnish Government always supports and strives for women to participate fully in all areas of life. It has made Finland one of the countries with good gender equality. The Global Gender Gap Report, compiled and released by the World Economic Forum, states that as of 2020, Finland occupies the third position as a country with the best level of gender equality in the world after Iceland and Norway. Indonesia is 85th of 153 countries. [3] Even though Finland's level of gender equality is higher than Indonesia's, Finland still loses to Indonesia in sending female peacekeepers to the UNIFIL mission. The following is a comparative graph of the number of Finnish and Indonesian female peacekeepers at UNIFIL in 2015-2019.



Source: Processed by Researchers from UNPKO data [4]

Even though Indonesia's level of gender equality is far below Finland's, the number of female peacekeepers sent by Indonesia to the UNIFIL mission is far greater than that of Finland's female peacekeepers. Indonesia is also committed to increasing the number of female peacekeepers, which continues to increase yearly. This commitment is evidenced by the enactment of the Regulation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2017 concerning the Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Number 05 of 2015, which regulates the Vision Roadmap for 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. This Minister of Foreign Affairs contains steps that Indonesia needs to take during 2015-2019 to increase the number of peacekeepers sent on peace missions to reach 4,000 personnel. While not explicitly designed to increase female peacekeepers. [5] Even though Indonesia's level of gender equality was far below Finland's, the number of women peacekeepers sent by Indonesia on the UNIFIL mission was far more than female peacekeepers from Finland, even though it

tends to increase yearly. Therefore, this research seeks to find out why the Government of Indonesia should increase the participation of female peacekeepers in the UNIFIL.

## METHOD

### Liberal Feminism and Political System

Liberal feminism emphasizes the creation of personal freedom and happiness. Liberal feminism fights for women's rights, which demands gender equality. Where women can develop intellectual capacities and moral progress and have the same access and rights to participate in all public activities in all fields as men so that no more marginalized people are locked up and limited to private space only. [6] The main goal of liberal feminism is to liberate women from the subordination and domination of men and to create justice and gender equality. One of the strategies to realize gender equality is to increase women's participation in the public sphere at the local and global levels. In this research, the policy of increasing the number of female peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission shows that Indonesia provides opportunities for women to work, be active, and develop their potential to participate in the public sphere. This policy is also Indonesia's effort to realize justice and gender equality in the international sphere, as desired by liberal feminists.

This study uses the political system theory of David Easton, which consists of various elements: input, political system, output, feedback, and environment. A country's political actions or decisions result from input conversion into outputs. In David Easton's political system theory, input consists of demands and supports. Demands exist due to the scarcity of resources in society or unfulfilled community needs. There are various demands in society. Therefore, support is needed to determine which demands are appropriate for further processing in the political system. With support, they can meet the demand and achieve their goal. Demands and support can come from the environment within (internal) and outside (external) of the system. Policymakers then respond to the current demands and support processed within the political system. The political system then produces authoritative or binding outputs through decisions and actions. [7] The output is the answer and fulfillment of the incoming demand and support input. The output in the form of decisions and policies will then generate feedback from the political system and the environment. Feedback is a reaction or response to the output produced by the political system. The environment is another system outside the political system that can influence the political system. This process works in a cyclical pattern, so the feedback will be translated back as input as demands and support for the following process.

Research data were obtained through interviews and a literature study. The key informants in this study were three parties selected using a purposive technique: PPID of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Ruby Kholifah as Director of The Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) Indonesia, and Mr. Arvie as Head of PMPP TNI International Cooperation Agreement. AMAN Indonesia is an organization that upholds justice and peace by focusing on human rights and gender equality. The validity of the data was tested using a

triangulation technique. According to Miles and Huberman, data analysis in this study used a qualitative data analysis method by reducing or selecting data appropriate to the research problem, presenting it as narrative text, and finally drawing conclusions based on existing data.

## RESULT

### United Nations Peace Mission in Lebanon

UN involvement in the conflict in the Lebanese region began in 1978, marked by the adoption of UN Security Council Resolutions Numbers 425 and 426 of 1978 in response to requests for assistance from the Lebanese Government regarding the worsening of the conflict situation due to Israeli military operations against Palestinian militants based in Lebanon. This resolution became the basis for forming the UN peacekeeping mission in Lebanon under the auspices of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon or UNIFIL. UNIFIL's involvement was divided into two periods: the "old" UNIFIL in 1978 and the "new" UNIFIL in 2006. The "old" UNIFIL forces are responsible for de-escalating the conflict between Israel and Palestine, assisting the process of withdrawing Israeli peacekeepers from South Lebanon, restoring peace and security in Lebanon, and assisting the Lebanese Government in restoring its authority in the border area. Even though Israel has succeeded in expelling Palestinian militants from Lebanon, agreeing to a ceasefire, and withdrawing its peacekeepers, Israel still dominates several Lebanese areas. It triggered resistance from Shia Muslims who did not accept the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, thus forming the Hezbollah movement, which later emerged as a new enemy for Israel.

Hezbollah and Israel conflict in the Lebanese region continues even though it has been under the supervision of UNIFIL. In 2000, Israel cooperated with the United Nations to withdraw its peacekeepers. Despite withdrawing its peacekeepers, Israel refuses to leave the Shebaa Farms area. The ambiguity of territorial demarcation and the frequent violations against the Blue Line, which resulted in casualties, triggered low-scale armed conflict between Hezbollah and Israel during 2001-2006. [8] The conflict between Hezbollah and Israel peaked marked by the 34-Day War 2006. This War changed UNIFIL radically with the renewal of UNIFIL's mandate in UNSC Resolution No. 1701 of 2006. Through this resolution, DKPBB extended UNIFIL's mandate and called for Hezbollah and Israel to end all attacks and offensive military operations and support a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution to the crisis. [9]

In addition to extending its operational period, UNIFIL has increased its troop strength by increasing the number of peacekeepers to 15,000 personnel and expanding its duties and responsibilities. Initially, the task of the UNIFIL peacekeepers was to maintain a ceasefire along the border through patrols, observation, and close contact with the parties to the conflict to overcome violations and prevent an escalation of the conflict. [10] However, post-Resolution 1701 UNIFIL peacekeepers are also tasked with providing humanitarian assistance to the entire civilian population, ensuring equitable humanitarian access, and voluntarily and safely repatriating refugees.

The "new" UNIFIL also integrates a gender perspective by involving more female peacekeepers because the humanitarian aspect has become a significant concern for UNIFIL's mission. In 2006, women peacekeepers on UNIFIL missions comprised only 2.5% of the total deployment. However, as of 2019, women accounted for 6% of the approximately 10,300 UNIFIL peacekeepers serving peace in southern Lebanon and territorial waters. [11] The involvement of women in peace missions is also a form of implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution Number 1325 of 2000 concerning Women, Peace, and Security, which contains the importance of women's contributions to conflict prevention and resolution as well as in the process of building and maintaining peace. [12] The UN's efforts to realize gender equality in the international peacekeeping agenda have received support from its member countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia itself is the largest troop contributor country to the UNIFIL peace mission.

#### **Indonesian Female Peacekeeper on the UNIFIL Mission**

As a UN member state, Indonesia has contributed to serving on various UN Peace Missions. Data as of February 2021 shows that Indonesia currently occupies the eighth position as the largest troop contributor country, with 2,607 male and 185 female personnel. Most of Indonesia's peacekeeping forces, numbering 1,229 personnel, are assigned to the UN peacekeeping mission in Lebanon or UNIFIL. [13] Indonesia's participation in the UNIFIL mission began in 2006, sending 850 male and seven female personnel in 2009. Female peacekeepers have the same duties and responsibilities as male personnel. It can be seen from the spread of female peacekeepers in various task forces such as the Mechanical Battalion (Yonmek), Force Headquarter Support Unit (FHQSU), Force Protection Company (INDO FPC), Military Police Unit (MPU), Military Community Outreach Unit (MCOU), Milstaff Seaeast, Hospital, and Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC).

Each task force has different duties and responsibilities. The Yonmek Task Force was assigned to a small area in Lebanon to ensure peace, security, and stability in conflict areas. The FHQSU Task Force is assigned to the UNIFIL Headquarters (HQ) headquarters. Naquora is responsible for administrative needs and logistics at the UNIFIL headquarters. The FPC Task Force guards, observes, and patrols UNIFIL headquarters, preparing a Quick Response Team and overseeing all UNIFIL Force Commander assets and Escorts for UNIFIL officials and official guests. [14] The MPU Task Force is responsible for law enforcement, discipline, and order for all military and civilian UNIFIL peacekeepers in the Area of Responsibility. The Seaeast Milstaff Task Force makes joint patrol schedules with peacekeepers from other countries and conducts military operations. It ensures the eastern sector does not function as a conflict area in any form, supporting the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), preventing attacks from Israel, and ensuring security. [15] The MCOU Task Force conveys information regarding participation to all civil society in Lebanon. The Task Force Hospital provides health services and facilities for peacekeepers and civil society in Lebanon. Finally, the CIMIC task force is tasked with building

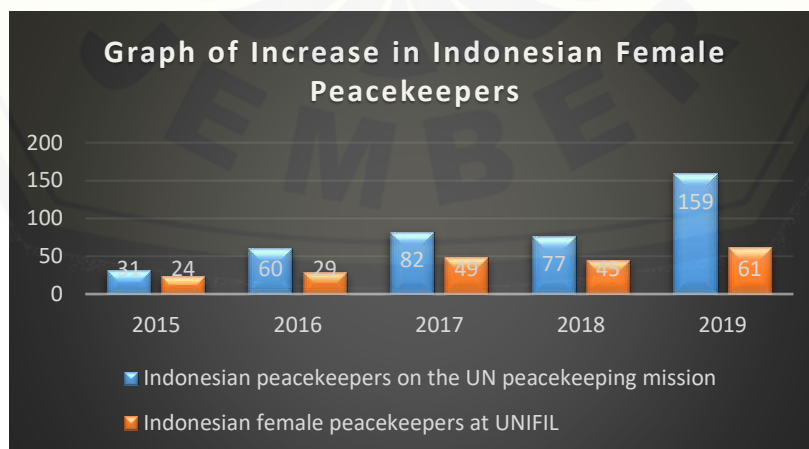
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good communication and relations with civil society in Lebanon. All CIMIC activities are focused on synergy between the military and civilians and emphasize the humanitarian aspect.

Despite various duties and responsibilities, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 states that women peacekeepers' primary duties and roles in peace missions are non-combat. It relates to women's feminine character, which is needed especially for post-conflict local community recovery. Indonesian women's peacekeepers at UNIFIL have a unique role in the humanitarian field. Communication built by female peacekeepers is believed to increase public trust and maintain security stability in conflict areas. With good communication and relations, women peacekeepers can provide humanitarian assistance that is evenly distributed by providing health services, being a role model for civil society, obtaining information regarding complaints and needs of civil society, restoring the trust of civil society, and recovering them from trauma. They also help restore the community's economic condition and civil society by conducting training, empowerment, and potential development and providing motivation, support, assistance, and protection to civil society. [16] Especially in protecting victims of conflict, the presence of female peacekeepers is considered more capable of making a more subtle approach to victims, being able to mediate and help gather information from war victims, especially victims of sexual harassment, which is difficult for male peacekeepers to do. This ability helps women create peace in conflict areas more effectively. [17]

Realizing women's important role in achieving the UN mandate's effectiveness, Indonesia has decided to increase the number of its female peacekeepers in various UN Peace Missions, including the UNIFIL mission. This decision was conveyed in the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2015 concerning the Vision Road Map for 4,000 Peacekeeping Personnel 2015-2019. The following is a comparative graph of the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers in the UN Peacekeeping Mission as a whole and Indonesian female peacekeepers serving in the UNIFIL mission in 2015-2019.



The graph above shows that 2015-2019, there was a consistent increase in the number of Indonesian women peacekeepers assigned to UNIFIL missions, although not in significant

numbers. The data in the table above shows that more than 50% of Indonesian female peacekeepers are assigned to UNIFIL missions. The increasing number of Indonesian women peacekeepers on the UNIFIL mission indicates that the Indonesian Government is paying more attention to and realizing the importance of women's participation in the international arena. Indonesian women have had a more expansive space and equal opportunities to participate in maintaining world peace. Even though Indonesia is committed to increasing its female peacekeepers' participation, the number of Military women is still needed to meet the quota provided.

### **Reasons for Increasing Indonesian Female Peacekeepers in UNIFIL Missions**

This study found that the Indonesian Government's decision to increase the participation of its female peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission was influenced by input factors and the Indonesian political system. The input factor consisted of two types of input: demand input and support input. Meanwhile, the Indonesian political system influences the Indonesian Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the authority that has the authority to make these decisions.

#### **1. Demands**

The Government of Indonesia's reason for increasing the participation of its female peacekeepers in the UNIFIL Mission was due to demands that came from outside. The United Nations conveyed this demand as the most important international organization in the world and the organizer of peace missions in the form of binding international provisions, policies, and agreements. This international agreement was established to overcome discrimination experienced by women and realize gender equality in all aspects of life, especially on the agenda of maintaining world peace. Three international policies influenced Indonesia's decision: the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

#### **Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)**

CEDAW is an international legal instrument that calls on all state parties to eliminate discrimination against women and girls and promote equal rights to achieve gender equality in all areas of life. As of 2016, CEDAW has been ratified by 189 countries, including Indonesia. [18] Indonesia signed CEDAW in 1980 and ratified it in Law Number 7 of 1984. Ratifying the Convention means agreeing to every Covenant point, content, and principle and being willing to implement it. Therefore, Indonesia is obliged to run its Government following the contents and principles of CEDAW, which is directed at eliminating discrimination, realizing gender equality, and guaranteeing equal rights for women. Indonesia continues to implement CEDAW in its governance both locally and internationally actively. At the local scope, Indonesia guarantees gender equality. It eliminates discrimination by establishing a National Commission on Violence Against Women and issuing various regulations, laws, policies, work programs, and activities that are aware of and have a gender perspective. At the same time, the implementation

of CEDAW in Indonesian foreign policy can be seen from the decision to increase the participation of Indonesian women peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission.

### **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**

The ICCPR is an international legal instrument that regulates and protects every individual's civil and political rights. The ICCPR has eight human rights principles: universality, human dignity, non-discrimination, equality, dependence, cannot be separated, transferred, confiscated, or exchanged, and accountability. The principle of equality and non-discrimination is the most suitable for research.

The recognition of equality and non-discrimination principles is stated in several parts of the ICCPR, including in the Preamble, which states that all human beings have inherent and equal rights and dignity and cannot be taken away from them. Article 2, paragraph (1) states the obligation of all countries to respect and guarantee the rights recognized in the Covenant for all individuals without any distinction, such as race, skin color, sex, language, religion, or nationality, as well as in article 3 which states that states parties are obliged to guarantee the equality of civil and political rights regulated in this Covenant for both men and women. [19] In December 2021, the ICCPR has been ratified by 173 countries, including Indonesia. [20] Indonesia ratified the ICCPR in Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Ratification. As a country that has ratified the ICCPR, Indonesia is obliged to carry out its Government based on the mandate and objectives of the ICCPR, namely to protect and guarantee equal civil and political rights for everyone so they can enjoy it without any pressure. [21] Indonesia's commitment to implementing the ICCPR can be proven by the inclusion of recognition, protection, and enforcement of human rights in the Indonesian constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution and other laws and regulations. Apart from the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations that guarantee the protection and enforcement of human rights in Indonesia are Law Number 39 of 1999, which regulates human rights. Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning the Human Rights Court, MPR Decree Number XVII/MPR/1998 concerning Human Rights, and others.

In the context of this research, the Indonesian Government's decision to increase the number of women peacekeepers on the UNIFIL mission is concrete evidence of its efforts to uphold civil and political rights for its citizens. Through this policy, the Government of Indonesia provides equal opportunities for women to participate directly in the world peacekeeping agenda as male personnel, indicating equality and non-discrimination in this decision.

### **UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and its derivatives**

The increase in the participation of Indonesian women peacekeepers in the UNIFIL mission was also due to a request in the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 concerning Women, Peace, and Security. Through this resolution, the United Nations emphasizes the importance of women's contributions to conflict prevention and resolution and

building and maintaining peace. The United Nations encourages its member states to increase the involvement of women in peacekeeping missions with a focus on participation, protection, assistance, and recovery. [22] Resolution 1325 calls on all parties to armed conflicts to take specific measures to protect women and girls from gender-based or sexual violence in situations of armed conflict.

Resolution 1325 is assisted by various derivative resolutions that regulate Women, Peace, and Security to maximize its implementation. Several resolutions derived from Resolution 1325 include Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2009), Resolution 1960 (2010), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013), Resolution 2242 (2015), Resolution 2467 (2019), Resolution 2493 (2019), and Resolution 2538 (2020). One of the 1325 derivative resolutions, UN Security Council Resolution Number 2242 of 2015, is an appeal to the Secretary General of the United Nations to cooperate with UN member states in doubling the number of women peacekeepers in uniform on international peace missions. [23]

Through Resolution 1325 and its derivatives, the United Nations invites all member states to increase women's number, role, and participation in the agenda for maintaining world peace and conflict resolution to realize gender equality at the international level. Moreover, it is a form of implementing international humanitarian law and human rights that guarantees and protects human rights—women's rights and full participation in peacekeeping processes during and after conflict.

## 2. Support

The demands in the previous section receive support from the Government of Indonesia through its official regulations that uphold human rights, contain values of equality, are non-discriminatory, and are gender aware. Support also came from the social organization AMAN Indonesia, which pays attention to issues of gender, human rights, women, and peace.

### Support through Indonesian Government Regulations

Indonesian laws and regulations that influence the Government of Indonesia in making these decisions are the 1945 Constitution and Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. In the Minister of Foreign Affairs Number 1 of 2017, it is stated that the decision to increase female peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission is the obligation of the Indonesian Government to carry out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Number 1 of 2017, 2017). The mandate, or ideals of the Indonesian nation, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, include trying to protect all its citizens, promote prosperity, educate the nation's children, and participate in the implementation of world order based on eternal peace and social justice. (Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, 1945). Based on the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia recognizes, guarantees, and upholds the enforcement of human rights by adhering to equality, justice, and non-discrimination. Indonesia views all its citizens as equal and does not see differences in background, gender, or social status. From the elaboration above, the decision to increase



Indonesian women's peacekeepers on the UN Peace Mission is an effort by the Government of Indonesia to carry out its mandate to maintain world order and peace. In addition, this decision was also made to improve gender equality through the implementation of human rights based on the principles of equality, justice, and non-discrimination by providing equal opportunities for women to participate directly in the agenda for maintaining world peace.

Meanwhile, Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 is an instruction for government agencies at the central and regional levels to carry out gender mainstreaming following the attached guidelines for the creation of planning, preparation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluating national policies with a gender perspective. This gender mainstreaming strategy in national development was created as an effort by the Indonesian Government to increase the role and quality of women to achieve gender equality and justice in family, community, national, and state life. [24]

Although the Minister of Foreign Affairs Number 1 of 2017 does not include Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000 as one of the factors influencing the decision to increase female peacekeepers on peace missions, this decision is indirectly a form of implementation of Indonesia's commitment to mainstreaming gender as mandated in Presidential Instruction Number 9 2000. This statement is supported by the opinion of Mrs. Ruby Kholifah, the Director of AMAN Indonesia and an activist on women's issues in peace. She said the increase in female peacekeepers was related to Indonesia's commitment to gender mainstreaming by Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000. [25] In the context of adding women peacekeepers, laws and regulations and Indonesia's national commitment to gender equality provide equal opportunities and opportunities for women in various fields, including becoming female peacekeepers. [26]

### **Support from Social Organizations**

The demands in the previous section receive support from the Government of Indonesia through its official regulations that uphold human rights, contain values of equality, are non-discriminatory, and are gender aware. Support also came from the social organization The Asian Muslim Action Network or AMAN Indonesia. AMAN Indonesia is a non-profit organization and progressive Islamic movement in Indonesia that popularizes Women, Peace, and Security, promotes justice, empowers women, and advocates for human and women's rights. AMAN Indonesia upholds human rights, including tolerance for differences, peace, non-violence, justice, democracy, and respect for women. [27]

AMAN Indonesia supports UN international demands because it aligns with the organization's vision and mission, which upholds women's empowerment, peace, and gender equality. Mrs. Ruby Khalifah said that she agreed and supported increasing the participation of female peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission with the record that the presence of female peacekeepers must be able to identify gender and sexual-based violence. It is also crucial for female peacekeepers to have the knowledge and a gender perspective, understand UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and be closer to the community. These things will make their presence more meaningful. [28]

Support from AMAN Indonesia for these demands is also provided implicitly through actions, activities, and work programs carried out by AMAN Indonesia. One of them is the involvement of AMAN Indonesia to provide materials on Women, Peace, and Security for female peacekeepers who will be sent to serve as UN Peace Missions. This involvement shows AMAN's commitment to maximizing the capacity and quality of women's peacekeepers to maximize the development process and maintain peace in conflict areas.

### 3. Political Processes and Systems

Based on Easton's political system theory, before becoming an official government decision and action, existing demands and support will be processed first in the political system. The working system of the political system depends on government institutions or agencies that act as decision-makers. The ministers and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia played the role of decision-makers. Retno Marsudi is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia who served if the decision to increase the participation of women peacekeepers in UN Peace Missions was made and implemented. Throughout her career, Foreign Minister Retno paid more attention to issues of human rights and gender equality.

The policy of increasing the participation of women peacekeepers was not only made because of demands and support from outside the political system. However, it was also influenced by Retno Marsudi's views and beliefs on the role of women in peace. Retno Marsudi assessed that women have an essential role in increasing the effectiveness of peace. In her speech, Foreign Minister Retno said that women's participation in peace could increase sustainable peace by 20 percent and make peace more durable. It is supported by women's characteristics, which make female peacekeepers adept at establishing close relationships and providing comfort to conflict-affected communities. [29] On another occasion, Foreign Minister Retno said that women could also play a significant role in creating peace. [30] She also said that women were not only part of the solution but also the source of peace and security. [31] On one occasion, Retno Marsudi delivered a slogan, "Investing in women is investing in a brighter future." [32] This slogan shows a belief that women can provide a bright future if given the same space and opportunities as men.

Apart from the views of Retno Marsudi, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has the same value orientation around women in peace. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that women's role and involvement as peacekeepers can majorly contribute to the success of peace missions. In his interview, The Information Management and Documentation Officer of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that for Indonesia, the contribution of women peacekeepers to the UN Peace Mission is an essential part of Indonesia's peace diplomacy. Indonesia continues to make efforts so that women can participate at the national and international levels in increasing efforts to prevent conflict and international peace. Women play an essential role in supporting the effectiveness of the mandate. He also describes the factors that influenced this decision, including 1) Women have better capabilities in both situational awareness; 2) Women's peacekeepers can provide gender-sensitive protection for civil society victims of sexual violence

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and gender-based violence; 3) The presence of women's peacekeepers increases the acceptance of the UN Peace Mission by the local community; 4) Increasing women's peacekeepers is also a prerequisite in the agenda of sustaining peace; finally 5) During this pandemic, female personnel is also at the forefront of helping the community and local Government overcome the pandemic. [33]

From the description above, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi believe that women have the potential to become agents of world peace. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and Retno Marsudi see that women have advantages and privileges that men do not have, which can guarantee peace. So based on this view and the demands and support from internal and external, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia established a policy of increasing the participation of Indonesian women peacekeepers in various UN Peace Missions including the UNIFIL mission.

### CONCLUSION

The decision to increase the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers on the UNIFIL mission was influenced by input factors consisting of demands, support, and factors from the Indonesian political system. Demands come from UN international organizations through binding and gender-responsive international decisions, policies, and agreements such as CEDAW, ICCPR, and UN Security Council Resolution Number 1325 of 2000 and their derivatives. Furthermore, these demands receive input from internal support from the Government of Indonesia through laws and regulations that uphold equality of human rights, are non-discriminatory, and are gender-responsive, namely the 1945 Constitution and Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000. Support for UN demands is also provided by organizations AMAN Indonesia, which fully supports women's issues and gender equality. This support is conveyed in the form of the organization's willingness to participate in the process of preparing peacekeepers to be dispatched to various UN Peace Missions.

Furthermore, demands and support are processed in the political system. As the competent authority, the Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia believe that the presence of women peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission has privileges and a significant role in the mission's success. The presence of women can support the achievement of the mandate's effectiveness, which will lead to sustainable peace. Therefore, the decision to increase the participation of Indonesian women's peacekeepers in the UN Peace Mission in Minister of Foreign Affairs Number 5 of 2015 is an output or result of input processing of demands and support in the political system.

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